1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

621 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section 312 *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages 312 will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal • 628 water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor 628 people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another 778 village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing 834 lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of 533 villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

[ P. 81a ]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

knelt and prostrated themselves, thanking the deceased's maternal uncle.

B. The maternal uncle was required to initiate and execute vengeance for the murder or suicide of his sister's child.

The duty to initiate and execute vengeance fell first on the brothers of the mother of the deceased—i.e. the deceased's maternal uncles—and only secondarily on the deceased's father, brothers, and other paternal kinsmen. Hence, the mother's brothers were the immediate protectors of the lives and well-being of their sister's children and it was they who stepped forward in the event that a man or woman had been murdered in his or her own family, or a married woman had been murdered or had committed suicide in the home of her parents-in-law.

To illustrate the way in which the maternal uncle operated as an avenger, and the relationships which he had with the various other relatives of the deceased, I shall draw on an actual case of suicide which I had the opportunity of observing at first hand.

In November 1915, in Lichiat'an ("the plain of the Li family"), the daughter-in-law of Li Chin-ch'ün, born in the family of Ch'i, was found one morning hanging from a beam. She had had quarrels for many days with her mother-in-law and had been beaten by her husband. Li Chin-ch'ün, sick with fear and apprehension, and with a sense of impending doom, went in a hurry to see the chief of the village and the elders, and begged a man who was on intimate terms with the girl's maternal uncle to convey the terrible news and to invite him to come over in order to permit detachment of the body from the beam and to fix the date for the settlement of the trouble.

A hanging person was not allowed to be detached without permission of the "master of the bones." After the permission had been granted, a shaman was invited who adjured and cursed the evil spirit, feverishly cut the rope with his sword, undressed the victim and cut a small piece of flesh from the hips, which he swallowed. The victim was then deposited on the *k'ang*, or sleeping platform, to await burial after the troubles had been patched up and permission for the burial granted by the girl's maternal uncle.

During the night, with all possible haste, the Li family, aided by some friends and relatives, sent away for safe keeping its best animals and entrusted to these friends and relatives its most precious belongings—clothes, agricultural implements, etc. Hogs and sheep were killed and vast quantities of wine were prepared, in order to deal in the best way with the ill-disposed guests, for on an empty stomach trouble cannot be ironed out; empty bellies do not reason. To meet unknown contingencies which might arise, the father-in-law of the suicide borrowed money at usurious rates, mortgaged some fields, etc., for a suicide ruined a family completely, and there was a saying that: "The value of the life of a person

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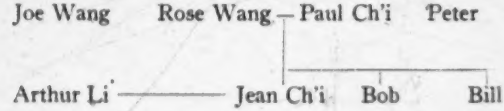
628

who dies by his own hand, tallies with the whole wealth of the family."

In this concrete case, what relatives were involved? The relatives of the deceased girl, Jean Ch'i,[15] are shown in the following genealogical chart:




Since Jean was the daughter of Rose Wang, Joe Wang, who is Rose's brother, was Jean's maternal uncle and was "the master of the bones" and had to lead the avengers. If Jean had had no real maternal uncle, the duty of leading the avengers would have fallen on her closest male relatives in her mother's lineage.

Since Jean was also the daughter of Paul Ch'i, Paul and his brothers and sons, and his paternal uncles and their sons and grandsons—the whole Ch'i family—were involved. They had to avenge the death of one of their members, but under the leadership of Joe Wang. They would have led the avengers only in default of Jean's maternal uncles.

On the other side, the whole Li family was involved, and with them the maternal uncles of Arthur Li, the husband of the suicide. The latter were invited to take up the cudgels in favor of Arthur and his father.

Thus four families were directly involved in the suicide—two on each side. The position of the avenging group was stronger, for they had a claim to see justice done; the position of the other group was the weaker because they were recognized as in the wrong. The first group emphasized the wickedness of the behavior of the Li family, in order to extort a severe atonement, and the other group tried to minimize the wrong, offering extenuating circumstances, in order to save Arthur and his father.

It should be noted that other families could have been indirectly involved in this case. Joe Wang, the avenger, could have asked his own maternal uncle to assist him, and in default of close members of Joe Wang's lineage, this maternal uncle would have assumed the role of "master of the bones." Similarly, Paul Ch'i could have asked assistance of his own maternal uncle.

On the other side, not only Arthur Li's maternal uncles but also his mother's maternal uncles, and his father's maternal uncles could have been asked to help in the defense.

In other words, aside from the maternal uncle of the deceased, the maternal uncles of any of the principals involved in the ensuing conflict were subject to an appeal for assistance and moral support, and, in the case of the chief avenger, for substitution in role.

It is also to be noted that in any of the clans involved—e.g. Ch'i, Wang, Li—family groups rather than entire

[15] Given names are fictitious.

[P. 926]

604 628 clans participated. In this case, Jean Ch'i's brothers, father, father's brothers and the latters' sons were involved; in other cases, if the family of the defendant was wealthy, the aggrieved's grandfather, grandfather's brothers and their descendants joined the avenging group in the hopes of profiting during the impoverishment of the defendant's family. But this is usually the limit of involvement of any given clan.

To help himself in this tight spot, the father of Arthur Li invited the chief of the village and the elders to arbitrate the conflict, along with some influential men celebrated in the country for their eloquence and proficiency in the art of patching up troubles, and known to be on intimate terms with the members of the first group. These he promised a fine remuneration in case of success. Such were the actors in the drama which ensued.

On the day appointed for the settlement, the members of the Li family together with Arthur Li's maternal uncles and the chief and elders of the village, went outside the village to greet the "guests"—i.e. the members of the avenging group. They led a sheep whose horns were decorated with red paper and on whose back was bound a piece of red cotton cloth eight feet in length. With them they also took many firecrackers, to be fired in front of the guests as they returned the long way to the Li family's courtyard. This was the customary means for making a public apology.

But the guests did not show up, and for several days the Li family had to send them new invitations every day. This was Joe Wang's way of compelling the Li family to spend money and kill more animals for the invited elders, the rest of the Li relatives and Arthur Li's maternal uncles, who had to be treated with kindness and fed all during the time that Joe Wang was delaying his appearance.

Finally, after five days Joe Wang showed up with the Ch'i family and a retinue of forty or fifty men bearing clubs, etc. The whole Li family knelt and prostrated themselves to make public apology, but not a kind word was spoken by their former friends, who had now become the fiercest enemies. Entering the courtyard, the Wangs and the Ch'is went to see the victim lying on the *k'ang* unwashed and dirty, for no one was allowed to touch the victim before the case was settled. The stench lay heavy on the air, clogged the throat, and made the avengers clench their fists with rage. They breathed fire and brimstone against the Li family. The maternal uncle declared that he was coming to take vengeance, and like a bolt from the blue, he and his followers smashed all the windows and doors and tables and benches and jars and all kinds of tools; the chickens and the dog were clubbed; all the animals in the stables were driven away, etc., adding to the chaos and confusion. Babies squalled, children screamed, the daughters-in-law clutched their children to their breasts, and the whole Li family prostrated themselves, begging for

604 mercy. The avengers knew no compassion, and every supplication was as a hot coal hissing on ice.

628 In the meantime the elders had tried to calm them down a little. The neighbors brought tea. The scolding, upbraiding, and cursing having subsided a bit, a dinner was offered. Again some of the avengers carped and complained about the quality of the food, etc. After dinner the palaver began again and went on through the whole night, with endless cursing.

The maternal uncle refused to announce his conditions for settling the trouble. The avenging group ate and drank its fill for three days, and still no solution, no headway was made.

On the fourth day the maternal uncle finally announced his conditions: the important living Buddha of Erh-kulung and 20 lamas should be invited to pray for 14 days for the victim; 1,000 pounds of butter should be offered, with an alms of 10,000 taels (ounces of silver) to the same lamasery; and 10,000 taels should be paid to the family of the suicide as atonement.

In the meantime the elders, knowing the ropes, and having the knack of acquiring information, had scanned the avenging group, recognized the most influential men among them, and had already invited them on three separate nights to their homes in order to enjoy a quiet sleep. Here they sounded them out concerning the mind of the maternal uncle about his final solution; some of them ultimately weakened and money was promised to them if they would see that the trouble was settled for a minor sum.

The maternal uncle, however, a very stubborn man, did not yield to the hints and suggestions of his friends. On the fifth day no solution had yet been reached.

It so happened that I was in the neighborhood and that two of the elders knew I was an intimate friend of Joe Wang, the maternal uncle, whose sick wife and son I had helped in critical circumstances. At night I was invited to see the maternal uncle and to persuade him to settle the trouble in a more lenient way, and it was thus that I learned all the circumstances of the appalling affair.

After a new palaver, lasting a whole day and night, the case was settled: only 1,000 taels was to be paid in atonement to the maternal uncle and his family, and the maternal uncle himself should take care of the question of the prayers and alms. This settlement was in fact a subterfuge, because prayers are never said and alms never given in case of suicide, so that in reality the whole atonement price accrued to the maternal uncle (Wang family), and the suicide's paternal relatives (Ch'i family).

Under the settlement, the atonement was to be paid on the nail, according to custom, not as an actual lump sum of 1,000 ounces of silver, but partly in cash and partly in livestock and pieces of cotton cloth. Moreover it was customary in all atonements that 600 coins rated 1,000; that one piece of cloth rated as two pieces.

[P. 936]

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604 628

and that prices of animals were fixed at double their true value. (The same custom existed for a widow's bride price.)

Nevertheless, the Li family was ruined. The entertainment of so many hostile guests and of the elders for so many days, the money promised in secret at night in order to effect an advantageous settlement, presents given to the elders, etc., constituted the most important expenses. The atonement was, in fact, the least important expense.

The ill-boding arrival of the deceased girl's maternal uncle, accompanied by the members of the Ch'i family breathing vengeance; the empty home in a state of indescribable destruction; the way in which the formerly friendly Li family was slighted, offended, treated with loathing, saddled with debts and ruined; the leaden atmosphere of gloom for so many days—all these tragic events made a deep impression and enhanced the authoritative stature of the maternal uncle, the hub around which turned the entire tragedy. When one has witnessed such a tragedy and seen one group of people on bended knees in supplication, weeping profusely, before another group of hard-hearted people, unwilling to forgive, their eyes red with hatred, rancor and embitterment, the meaning of "blood vengeance" is understood and remembered forever.

604 681

C. Capital and lesser punishments were inflicted by the maternal uncle on his sister's child in certain instances.

The maternal uncle wielded not only the power to permit or to impede the funeral of his sister's children, and to avenge their murder or suicide, but according to custom he had also the right to inflict punishment of various kinds on them. His power to mete out capital punishment may be illustrated by the following two cases of murder, the first involving only one kin group and the second involving two different kin groups.

In May 1914, in the same village of Lichiat'an, a youngster killed the older brother of his father. Subsequent to the division of the partrilineal inheritance the preceding autumn, the father and his brother had become implacable enemies and clashes had occurred between their sons on several occasions.

In this case, the maternal uncle of the murderer was invited together with the village elders and the paternal relatives of the family. The father of the murderer, heavy with despair but hoping that his son would escape with his life, invited men celebrated in the art of patching quarrels, and also the chief and elders of the village. He tried to hide some of his best animals, but no one would help him. The emotion and revulsion which arose in the country at such an unprecedented event had reached fever pitch because in the Monguor patrilineal society (as in that of the Chinese) a father's brother is classified as a "real" father, and therefore in local sentiment the murder was considered tantamount to patricide. The meeting began on the third day and

[ P. 94a ]

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor steppe.

## 4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home," about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from [103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced perhaps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They [166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulõn, where [423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since, however, according to my own observations and the statements of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulõn. These [628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are *extensively interrelated*. As regards numbers, this report covers approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region, an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger [776] brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and [553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 782 [776] [792] [791] The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacrifices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes place near the obo.

Details

*778 [621] [628] Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height. A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest mountain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171]

1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Tandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[625 cont.]

[527] dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.
Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared.
[782] During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[888] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.
[628] From the second day on the people make New Year's visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[836 cont.]
241 782 taking them back. One day can be saved, however, if the books are taken directly to the following neighboring community or fetched from there. In this case the monastery must be notified. The procession must begin at the first sign of dawn because otherwise one day would not be sufficient.

Place: Only one's own village area is considered for the [628] procession.[1] It is not permitted, for instance, that two villages join together and hold only one procession in both areas. Also, [346] the people always gather in the temple, for every village has at [787] least one small temple; no soothsaying is done outside the temple or temple yard.

Objects: The books are not absolutely necessary. A book procession does not take place every year, but usually only every three years. In the other years the procession is held without books. The ceremonies [837] are the same, except that the monastery is not notified when the date is set; two days are saved that would have been necessary for the transportation of the [801] books. Also, the number of participants need not be 108, although because of the sacred number it should be aimed at (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 839.] The book-carrying is a widespread custom in all lamic monasteries. In particular one can repeatedly see women who carry the heavy books, volume after volume like a rucksack on their backs, around the prayer halls of the temple, which often goes on for days, chuan miao (Chin.). Many Tujen women make such a vow in times of distress or sickness. -- It should also be recalled that a Tulku [Living Buddha] blesses the faithful by placing the book on their foreheads.

[1] [i.e. - Procession around the field. - ANALYST]

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and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all 792
the monasteries of Huang-chung.

## ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from 1 to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1). In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the 792
country. He had often extricated the monastery from 426
very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for 792
the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and 792
venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-ku-lung in- 691
advertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to 628
the community of the lamas. The intendant of the [415]
community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid

old Li would not budge. The whole community was humming like a beehive and about to drive the old Li and his intendant out. T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was unable to pour oil on the troubled waters; the furious intendant of the community of lamas, in a flush of excitement, called thirty lamas, went to Hsining and brought an accusation against old Li. At the court the Amban immediately fell under the spell of the placid and respectable Buddha, bent with age, who explained his case peaceably.

The Amban did not allow the thirty or more turbulent lamas to return to the monastery, after they had, with vehemence and arrogance, several times presented their claims before him. He made them wait for the publication of the verdict, and while waiting had them live in Chinese inns, where they spent money every day, bribing the happy officials who would make their hopes run high one day and dash them to the ground on the next, thus making them spend more money. The Living Buddha and his intendant lived at peace at the home of his nephew, the Li T'u-ssu. He was acquainted with the most prominent men in the city, had them working for him and bringing small gifts. After four months the impoverished lamas became as meek as lambs and the Amban deemed the time ripe to pronounce the verdict: "The cauldron had been broken inadvertently. Because the community of lamas drank tea from the cauldron several times every day, the community should bring into his hands $800, and he would take care of the casting of a beautiful cauldron; the intendant and the board of the community should be put in jail until the money was ready." The epilogue of this interesting trial was that after a few days the money was reverentially placed in the hands of the Amban, the intendant and the men of the board were released, and the Amban had a cauldron cast—for $150!

The intendants are powerful elements in a monastery. In this case T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, belonged to the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, as did the venerable old Living Buddha Li. Yet he could not stay the hands of the intendant and the board of the community of the lamas who, incautiously disregarding the relationship between the two venerable living Buddhas were too quick on the trigger in resorting turbulently to the Chinese courts of justice, although they should have known the dangers by experience. The officials know it is impossible to talk sense into such lamas without first making them spend all their money and letting them wait for months at the gate of the court. The lesson given to the lamas is remunerative for the Chinese officials, but the lamas, stubborn as mules, appear again before the judges at the next opportunity, and receive the same lesson all over. Such is the atmosphere of a monastery and its inmates.

(3) Li, the lama intendant, of the Living Buddha Lu, supreme chief of the monastery of Yang-k'uo-erh-ssu,

[p.41(B)]

was officially appointed chiliarch (*ch'ien hu*) [1] by the Amban, with the privilege of judging the subjects of the monastery. He was thus simultaneously a monastic official and a Chinese civil official. He had amassed a comfortable fortune at the expense of the subjects of six villages belonging to the monastery. A shrewd, capable man, in order to assure his position, he cleverly moved his younger sister near the monastery in order to have the young Living Buddha "acquainted" with her.

Lamas and subjects urged the dismissal of the intendant. The Buddha refused and threatened to accuse the three ringleaders of the rebellion, but the subjects and lamas went to the court of the subprefect of Nien-pe and accused both the Buddha and the intendant. Knowing that the intendant was rich, the judge examining the case put him in jail on the very first day of the trial, to make him understand that the roles were reversed. The sister of the intendant was called to testify, and the Living Buddha lost face before the people of Nien-pe, who attended all the sessions with the keenest interest. Finally, the Buddha was divested of the privilege of having a chiliarch to judge his subjects, and blushing with shame he received a lecture from the judge on the observance of celibacy in the Yellow Sect. The girl was ordered to move far away from the monastery.

The intendant, dismissed from his office by the judge, was released after several more months. He had spent his whole fortune, and had even been forced to sell his fields, cattle, and two oil mills. During the troubles, 70 of the 150 lamas left the monastery. This intendant caused the ruin of the monastery.

(4) The most beautiful bridge in Kansu is over the Ta-t'ung River, opposite the monastery of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, which before 1723 had had three colleges, two Living Buddhas, and 700 lamas, and at this time still had 200. When the supreme chief of the monastery was only seven years of age, troubles had started between the intendancy of the monastery and that of the community of lamas. Each claimed to be the proprietor of the bridge, with the right to collect tolls. The lamas, divided into two groups, became involved in the troubles. For twelve years both intendancies, accusing each other, moved from city to city and from one court of justice to another, and spent all the money of the respective intendancies. The head temple of the monastery was closed for three years. Finally, the Chinese judges having milked the cows dry, abolished the right of the lamas to receive the toll and took it themselves. The peace of the monastery was disturbed to the point that 120 disgusted lamas left. In 1920 only 80 lamas remained, some old men, but mostly children. The stubborn intendencies had preferred to wreck the

[1] "Chief of 1,000 families" is an official, appointed by the Chinese administration, who controls a tribe or group of people. He imposes corvées, collects taxes for the government, mediates troubles, and awards punishments. Although his subjects very seldom number 1,000 families, the title remains the same.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions suggested to end the feud.[3]

(5) I was told many times, by two honorable intendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendancies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendancies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendancies.

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased.

The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and protested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and

[3] Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

[p. 42 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Peking, Nanking, and Shanghai. He rides a bicycle, walks his smallest sons in a European baby carriage, likes photography, delights in playing a phonograph, enjoys working with electricity at home and in the temple. He possesses all kinds of medical instruments and gives injections. He is reputed to be very proficient in magic, and is the most talked-about man in the country. 795 792

## RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RED AND YELLOW LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

The feud between the two sects in Huang-chung never seems to have been as fierce as it was in Tibet, where lamas fought each other and destroyed each others' monasteries. The reason seems to be the troubled circumstances in the country. The people, the Red lamas, and their small institutions suffered tremendously on account of the inroads. The whole country was impoverished. The diffusion of the Yellow Sect, under such conditions, necessarily began on a small, unnoticed scale and when peace was restored the Yellow Sect was protected by the emperors and the Red Sect was powerless. 795 628 578 792

None the less, Reds and Yellows know their history well, and the embers of the old antagonism are still smoldering under the ashes. The troubles between Goorong and Sha-ch'ung, and the vehement protest of all the Yellow Living Buddhas of Huang-chung, when Goorong was trying to occupy the Ta-fo-ssu, give evidence of this. South of the Yellow River, in the subprefecture of Kui-te, lamas of the Yellow Sect recently prevented the Red lamas of Keura from rebuilding their temple. The trouble developed into full-scale fighting, and lamas on both sides were killed. The lamasery of the Yellow Sect was burned to the ground by the Moslem troops who restored order. The Yellow Living Buddha fled, but the lamasery had to pay a heavy indemnity. On the north of the Hsining River, however, both sects seem to live congenially, because the Yellow Sect is omnipotent and the Reds are a minority, having not a single monastery in the country.

When the Red group of Erh-chia-ting near Erh-ku-lung built a new temple, the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu of Erh-ku-lung offered them seven big trees and sent his intendant to attend the ceremony of the inauguration of the temple. The lamasery of Chu-erh, of the Yellow Sect, allowed the Red group to build a temple on its property. Even the intendant of one of its Living Buddhas was a Red lama. In 1915 I saw Red and Yellow lamas performing rites together at the Karwa of the Yellow Chao lama. It has been recorded that the Yellow lama, chief of the Li Karwa, alternately invited four lamas of the Yellow and of the Red Sects to perform the yearly usual rites at his Karwa. 795 792

Lamaseries of the Yellow Sect invite Red lamas to perform the rite intended to appease the avenging spirits of persons who have suffered injustices at the hand of the lamasery. The secretary of the Living Buddha Lu

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therefore a member of an alien family can never become a shaman." 756

When I asked whether all the Monguor shamans served the twelve spirits, the answer was that they did, and then I objected, not understanding why, that the family names of the shamans were not the same. They answered that the spirits had chosen ancestors of different families to become shamans, but all these things had happened centuries ago. This explanation seemed to be full of holes.

## DIFFERENT KINDS OF SHAMAN

### BEHAVIOR AMONG SHAMANS AND BETWEEN SHAMANS AND MONGUORS

Shamans always said that in the mountains south of the Hsining River were shamans serving only evil spirits, who were therefore called "black shamans." They dedicate themselves to the evil spirits, and to Erlik Khan, their chief, and unleash them to harm the people. The "white shamans" must drive away the evil spirits and undo their harm; they serve only good spirits and are devoted to them in the same way the black shamans are devoted to the evil spirits. 756 628 563 754

White shamans never have friendly relations with black shamans and never give their daughters to their sons, or take brides for their sons from among them; one group despises the other. The white shamans always boast of their superior power, and the thorough efficacy of their good-spirits over the evil spirits, and are convinced that their group existed long before the black shamans came into existence.

The Monguors are really afraid of the black shamans. They never give their daughters to them, and shun them because they know they are dangerous fellows. When a black shaman is traveling through the country and asks to stay for the night in a Monguor village, the horror-stricken Monguors never dare to refuse to comply with his demand, and so display the most gracious hospitality for fear he might unleash the evil spirits and harm the village. The black shamans know they are shunned and that they have no friends in the world. They are dominated by an inferiority complex. When they encounter anyone on the road, they retire to the wayside and allow the wayfarer to pass first.

This attitude toward the black shamans is understandable, but why it exists in the same way toward the white shamans is an enigma. The white shamans living in the village are always invited by private families and the communities to provide aid and support in all kind of troubles; they are said to be the servants of the good spirits. Notwithstanding this, the Monguors do not like to have friendly, intimate relations with them. The white shamans are never invited to dinners and feasts for births of children, marriages, or funerals. Ordinary people never either marry their girls to sons of white shamans or permit their boys to marry girls of white shamans. No white shaman is

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

allowed in the intimacy of the family; he is shunned. 754
He is also dominated by an inferiority complex, and ac- 756
customed to letting a wayfarer pass first on the road. 628
He knows that he does not belong at the top of society, 565
for during the empire, the Monguors say, no shaman was allowed to compete for literary degrees. Their profession was discredited in the same way as that of tailors, barbers, and comedians. The social standing of the shamans and the influence they wielded in former times are really beyond all comparison with their poor condition of today.

But do the Monguors never call the black shamans in [578] order to perform their rites? A couple of facts will be recorded about Monguors who, in order to take vengeance on enemies, invited black shamans to cast spells upon them at night.

## NO ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE MONGUORS FOR THE DUTY OF SHAMAN

It is a well-known fact all over the country that sha- 756
mans generally have an aversion to their office and do not like to carry out their functions, but, bound by the choice of their father shaman, and knowing that a refusal would be fraught with all kinds of evil consequences, they discharge their burdensome, non-remunerative duty. The Monguors say that in families where there are no shamans, permission would never be granted by the parents and the chiefs of the families for a member of the family to become a shaman.

In the Valley of Hung-nai there are no more shamans 756
at present. During the terrible Moslem rebellion, all 798
the shaman families were exterminated. The inhabitants of the valley, afraid of the burdens attached to this profession, no longer allow their sons to become shamans. They prefer to honor the more lenient deities of Lamaism and have their sons become lamas. They nvite shamans of other villages to perform shamanistic rites in their village every year in the spring and at hail time; the other rites are all performed by lamas. Shamans, however, according to their own ideology, assert that no more shamans can arise among them.

Several times I heard the typical story, later attested 756
to by No Kuang-li, that when he was a boy a member of his family was ordered by his father shaman to succeed him. The unwilling boy was compelled to accompany his father at the performance of all kinds of rites, to learn the usual prayers, and to submit to the peculiar training. When his father died, the boy tried to get rid of the duty, but the family council decided that he had to comply with the choice made by his father. The boy's nerves were on edge and he went on a rampage; his health was impaired, his mind was seriously affected and he had a mental breakdown. He roamed for months in the mountains, shunning all kinds of people and finally was found hanging from a tree. After so many years this fact was still recorded and explained by the Monguors as being a punishment meted out by the spirit who had selected that boy as its

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philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

## MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the

> South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jassaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bö), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94-98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* 48: 493, 1953.

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more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were added to them.[29]

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining.

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

## CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests

[29] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmaks)*, 29-35, 1929.

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of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*a*. *Sung Shih* 492: 14*a–b*). In 1065 Chiossulo appointed Tung Chan chief of the tribes. He governed 600,000 subjects. The emperor ratified the appointment in 1068, granted to the new chief the titles previously bestowed upon the father, and seized the opportunity to send Chinese officials to help him administer Huangchung. Tung Chan was a faithful defender of the empire. When the Hsi Hsia in 1070 invaded East Kansu, he attacked them, thus breaking the impact of the invasion. In 1081, 120,000 of his troops fought the Hsi Hsia at the side of the imperial armies. He and his wife were repeatedly bestowed with more and more honorific titles. The Hsi Hsia tried to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to them, but he refused the offer. Thereupon the Hsi Hsia invaded Huangchung and laid siege to his city of Mao-ch'uan. He raised the siege making peace with the Hsi Hsia against the orders of the emperor. He died in 1086 (*Annals* of Hsining, 31*b*, 33*b*. *Annals* of Kansu 46: 11*b*. *Sung Shih* 492: 16*b*).

Jealousy and hatred long smoldered among the wives of Chiossulo. At the death of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, Chiossulo, to humiliate his daughter, had moved her to Kuo Chou, and then a large number of tribes of the Li clan had seceded and moved to the southern part of East Kansu. In 1057, advised by her brother, she had left Kuo Chou and fled with her sons to the city of Tsun K'o, situated in the main territory of the Li clan. Chiossulo, in order to avoid more trouble with the powerful Li clan, appointed her sons as chiefs of the tribes of Ni-ku and T'ao and Ho-chou in East Kansu and the emperor granted them official titles.

However, hatred was already too deeply embedded in the hearts of the Li clan, and Mou Cheng, son of the second wife of Chiossulo, started trouble in East Kansu in 1064, conniving with the Hsi Hsia. The Hsi Hsia were defeated and Mou Cheng submitted to the emperor and received new important titles. At the death of Chiossulo in 1065, Mou Cheng, the leader of the opposition, followed by an important number of clans and in connivance with the Hsi Hsia, was again on the warpath in 1072 in East Kansu. More Chinese armies arrived, cities were taken and retaken, and the wife of Mou Cheng and his children were taken prisoner by General Wang Ch'ao. East Kansu was laid waste. Finally after two years of destruction, Mou Cheng with eighteen chiefs of tribes submitted to China. Again more new important titles were granted to him and even the name of the Sung dynasty, Chao, was bestowed (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 10, 12. *Annals* of Hsining 31B: 33, 3, 4, 5. *Sung Shih* 492: 14, 16).

The legitimate son of Tung Chan having died, he appointed in 1086 as his successor, A li ku, the son of his beloved concubine, a boy born in Khotan from an unknown father, causing forever the ruin of the T'u-fan kingdom built by Tung Chan. The emperor ratified

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the eastern and western (Oirat and Kalmuk) Mongols would become especially desperate and obstinate, and Yung Lo would have to launch five campaigns personally into barren Mongolia, and die in that fateful country at the time that the troops from his fifth campaign were on their way back to Peking. During these times of alarming confusion and disorganization in Mongolia, the Monguors of Huangchung had to participate in the expeditions, defend their own country, and die on the fields of battle.[73]

The strangled Mongol Emperor T'o-ku-ssu was succeeded by Elbek, who was murdered in 1399 by Ugetch'i, chief of Kirghiz tribes, who tried to establish his hegemony over the Mongol tribes. He was defeated by A-lu-t'ai, chief of the Asods [74] and Ma-ha-mu, chief of the Oirats. In 1403, the eastern Mongols proclaimed as emperor Pen-chia-shih-li, son of Elbek, who was joined by A-lu-t'ai.

In 1403 T'u-ssu Ch'eng under the command of General Chang Fu, was ordered to fight groups of eastern Mongols, subjects of Pen-chia-shih-li, who came from the Gobi desert into the country of Kan and Liangchow (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37*a*). T'u-ssu Chao joined the same expedition and fought in Yung Ch'ang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*); Ch'eng and T'u-ssu Na fought the same groups in Cheng Fan (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a*; 42: 39*b*). T'u-ssu Wang was sent to I-chi-nai and Pu-yen-mu, north of Kan and Liangchow, to induce Pa tu Timur to surrender (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*). In the same first year of his reign, Yung Lo, in order to stabilize the conquest of Huangchung, organized military colonies, apportioned land to the colonists, and provided them with grain and oxen and farm implements (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 2*a*).

In 1404 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu chih chieh, was ordered to garrison Cheng Fan and Mao Mu Ch'eng.

In 1409 T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, was sent to I-chi-nai to care for and organize the surrendered Mongol tribes.

In 1410 Pen-chia-shih-li had offended the Chinese emperor by not caring for his subjects invading the frontiers of Liang and Kanchow. He killed the ambassador who conveyed the protest of the emperor. The emperor retaliated forthwith, granting titles to the Oirat chiefs, the foes of Pen-chia-shih-li. A conflict broke out between the two groups, and to Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai was administered a severe blow at the hand of the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. The emperor took advantage of their reverse and equipped an expedition

[73] Chinese and Mongol sources are very confusing relating to the history of these times. Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, Wolfgang Franke, Yung Lo's Mongolei-Feldzuge, *Sinologische Arbeiten* 3: 1–54, Peking, Deutschland Institut, 1914. Louis Hambis, *La Haute Asie*, 58–104, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. Henry Serruys, Notes on a few Mongolian rulers of the 15th century, *Jour. Orient. Soc.* 76 (2): 82–89, 1956.

[74] Asod-Alains: originating in the Caucasus, their faithful troops had been enlisted in the imperial guard and had followed the defeated Mongols fleeing toward Mongolia.

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against them, under the command of General Ch'u Fu, who blindly rushed into an ambush where his troops were annihilated. The emperor, in order to avenge the failure and redeem the honor of the empire, himself led an expedition against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai on March 15, 1410. Pen-chia-shih-li suffered a crushing defeat and escaped with a few soldiers, and a severe blow was then administered to A-lu-t'ai.[77] The emperor was back in Peking September 15, 1410. He had ordered the Monguor t'u-ssu to join the expedition.

T'u-ssu Li Yin, son of the late Li Nan-ko mustered the t'u-ssu and their troops. They participated in the expedition under his command. Among them are noted T'u-ssu A (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), T'u-ssu Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*), T'u-ssu Ch'eng (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*), T'u-ssu Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50*b*), and T'u-ssu Lu. The entire group fought in both battles against Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai. T'u-ssu Lu, Kung pu shih chieh, died on the field of battle fighting A-lu-t'ai. On that occasion to the clan of T'o Huan, prince of An Ting, was granted the name of Lu by the emperor, as reward for its devotion to the dynasty.

In 1411 T'u-ssu Lu Hsien joined the expedition commanded by the eunuch Wang An against Mongol tribes roaming in the region of Hsi Liang (north Kansu). The years 1411 and 1412 were times of intermittent forays by splinter groups of the defeated Pen-chia-shih-li and A-lu-t'ai erupting from Mongolia in the Liangchow and Kanchow regions. In 1412 two Chinese commanders, Sung Hu and Li Lin, had been appointed to repel the invasions and several t'u-ssu lent a hand: Li Yin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*), Chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*b*), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 35*a*), Chi (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 42*a*), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53*b*), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 41*a*), and Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 39*b*). The invading groups were those of Lao ti han,[78] of Ho lo ch'ih, Pa erh ssu and T'olot'ai. A severe blow was administered to them in Sha Chin Ch'eng (region of Liangchow) and they were pursued to T'ao-lai ch'uan (on the Tat'ong River) where 360 of their brigands were captured with their chiefs. The same year T'u-ssu Lu with commander Ch'eng hai took as prisoners Palima, chief of a group of invaders, and Shih T'ai, chief of another group in the region of Sung Shan I.

In the same year the Oirat chief Ma-ha-mu killed Pen-chia-shi-li and proclaimed as emperor of the Mongols, Delbek son of Pen-chia-shih-li. A-lu-t'ai, his foe, immediately tried to befriend the Chinese, and received the title of Prince of Karakorum. The granting of this title was as a red rag before a bull. Thereupon the enraged Oirat chief mustered his troops to invade China. The emperor himself decided to launch an expedition against the Oirat Ma-ha-mu. It was the age-

[77] Polovtsov, *op. cit.*, 28; Franke, *op. cit.*, 5-6.
[78] A descendant of Aoluch'ih. Hambis, *op. cit.* 107: 122, 7.

mand of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). The Monguors, familiar with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a–b*). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the seige and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers beseiging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops.

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with Uighurs, had attacked Salar villages. Probably during the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 50*a–b*). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 51).

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of Kansu were summoned, the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 45*b*). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had fol-

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again had escaped devastation, but East Kansu had borne for the third time the brunt of the revolt.[98] 175x 579

In 1806 tremendous rains ruined the districts of Chang Hsien, Ming Chou, and Leang Tang. Inundations of the Yellow River followed in the southern part of East Kansu. Cattle were drowned, many villages no longer existed, and the poor and destitute Tibetan tribes started plundering the country. T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-ming was sent in 1807 to Ch'i Chia Chai to guard the banks of the Yellow River where the people were used to crossing it, in order to prevent inroads of starving, pillaging people into Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a–b*).

## TIBETAN REVENGE UPON THE MONGOLS OF KOKONOR

In 1822 a revolt of twenty-three Tibetan tribes broke out in the regions of Hsun Hua and Kuei Te. The Mongols in 1509 had invaded Kokonor, the pasture grounds of the Tibetans. They had occupied the best pastures and relegated the Tibetans to poor and small pastures, or annihilated them entirely. This situation had lasted until 1726 when each tribe became the proprietor of the grounds it occupied, but the Khoshots were favored by the fact that they remained the proprietors of the large and best pastures stolen from the Tibetans in 1509. The glorious period of the Khoshots was at a very low ebb and the Tibetans deemed the opportunity at hand to recover their old pastures, to chase the hated, enfeebled Mongols and to occupy the pastures on the northern borders of the Yellow River which were in the hands of the Khoshots. 175x 628

A long period of devastation and murder succeeded. The Tibetan lama Chaghan Nom-un Khan was one of the leaders of the revolt. Many Khoshots left the country. The revolt spread rapidly. Many Tibetan tribes of the Kanchow and Yung Ch'ang and Liangchow regions joined the revolt and plundered the lands of the Mongols. Those of Liangchow attacked Mongol tribes in Sung Shan and stole 4,000 cattle, those of Kanchow plundered the Uighur tribes in the vicinity of the city, etc. The whole country was upset: the army was in a hurry. Except for an inroad in Tatung and one in Hsiao Hsia, Huangchung was not devastated. The officials removed from the lama the tribes he controlled. The revolt was not quelled until 1854, after thirty years. No notes are recorded concerning the movement of Monguor troops against the revolting Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 62*a–b*).

The empire had a bad time, for in the meantime revolts raged unchecked in the provinces of middle and north China. A new uprising of the White Lotus sect had started in 1831. The sect continued its ravages and destruction under new names. The revolt was followed in 1850 by the insurrection of the Taiping, which 175x 579 795

[98] J. J. De Groot, *op. cit.*, 363, sq.

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lasted until 1864, during which 20 million people of Kiangsu province were killed. Simultaneously the Nien Fei sect (mounted brigands) started its ravages in 1850. This revolt ended in 1868, having devastated the same provinces of the empire.

In Turkistan the Mohammedan Chang Ko Erh revolted in 1826. He conquered Turkistan and in 1828 the city of Suchow in North Kansu, situated along the well-known trade road to Central Asia. The regular troops of Liangchow, Kanchow, and Hsining were moved in a hurry to cope with the invasion which threatened to overrun Kansu. The Monguor troops had not been called to come to the rescue of the army. However, T'u-ssu Lu had sent grain to Suchow to feed the hungry troops. He was rewarded with the button of the second degree worn on the cap (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*a*). The long exhausting war of China with the Jungars ended in 1857 and a new Mohammedan uprising broke out in Turkistan in 1864. It lasted until 1876 and conquered the entire region of the Tarim basin.

## REVOLT OF THE EAST KANSU AND HUANGCHUNG MOHAMMEDANS, 1860–1873

The revolt is summarized according to the *Annals* of Kansu 47: 4 sq.

In 1859 the Mohammedan Ma-ha-pu-tu revolted in the eastern suburb of the city of Ho Chou in East Kansu. The revolt was soon quelled. The reason for the revolt is not noted.

In 1860 the Salars of Hsun Hua in East Kansu and those of Pa Yen Jung in Huangchung revolted in combination with the Mohammedans of the Shensi province, far more numerous than the Salars. A group started plundering in the Ho Chou region, and a group (that of the Salars of Pa Yen Jung who lived in Huangchung south of the subprefecture of Nienpei, north of the Yellow River) invaded the southern valleys of Hsining.

In 1861 these groups, drawing near Hsining, were put to flight by the commander Chao Erh-hsun, but they popped up in the eastern valley of Hsining, burning, destroying villages, and killing many people. The local militia could not withstand their fierce attacks.

In 1862 the rebels having no aim beyond plunder and the satisfaction of seeing their hatred against the Chinese fulfilled, roamed in strong groups all over Huangchung and East Kansu. Every day more Mohammedans of Kansu joined their groups. The lamas, Nangso, and Tibetans fought with the army. Some groups were victorious; some suffered hard reverses. The Salar t'u-ssu of the four upper and lower groups submitted with the Shensi Mohammedans in Tsa Pa Ch'eng. The suspicious officials nonetheless accepted their surrender, because the Nien Fei and Fa Fei brigands roamed in the vicinity of T'ungkuan, and they

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were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans. 175 795 579 628

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46a). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-[illegible] guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49a). [703]

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ninghsia, led by Ma Hua-lung [99] took the important city of Ninghsia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*). [791]

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta hui*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua ssu*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of [563]

[99] The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ninghsia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).

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the city was grateful and ready to help them. The second group called three thousand outsiders. However, the attackers were beaten by the old group, the local militia of the Chinese population. 175x 795 679 628

In 1865 the depredation of the cities of Ku Lang, Yung Ch'ang, Shan Tan, and Kanchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan, was wicked and ruthless. The rebels carried by storm the city of Suchow, and a terrible massacre of the population took place; 10,000 Chinese were killed. The pass of Chia Yu Kuan was captured by the rebels. At the time the rebels passed Liangchow, many Mohammedans from the vicinity fled into the city for shelter. The official, unable to put reliance on them and suspecting their connivance with the rebels, massacred them all in the city.

In the third moon the city of Hsining was besieged for a second time. The rebels were put to flight. Then they attacked the city of Donkir again. They were chased and looted several villages. At that time the dissension among the two groups had subsided. Mohammedans of Hsining attacked the city of Lao Ya Ch'eng but were beaten.

T'u-ssu Ah helped defend the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*). T'u-ssu Chou Hsieh-chi died on the field of battle defending the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 51*a*). T'u-ssu Hsin, after the defense of the city, disappeared in the mountains and returned only in 1886 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 53*b*). During the whole year the Mohammedans had devastated East Kansu and Huangchung.

During 1866–1867 the attacks continued, and the army resisted in the same desultory fashion. The power of the Mohammedans was too strong and that of the army too feeble and uncoordinated. All these expeditions were in the nature of pillaging parties, which were murdering and kidnapping people, and carrying away all the valuables they could find. They stirred the bitter hatred which burned in the hearts of the Chinese against the Mohammedans, and that of the Mohammedans against the Chinese.

In 1868 the Mohammedans of Hsining again looted the Donkir region and were defeated in Shen Chung. Their chief Ah Wu was captured and killed with 1,300 of his brigands.

In the tenth moon, the new governor general of Shensi-Kansu, Tso Tsung-t'ang, appointed in 1866, arrived with his troops to quell the revolt.

In 1869–1870 the general first attacked the most important center of the uprising. He quelled the revolt of Ma Hua-lung and cleared the Ninghsia district of rebels. He acted as ruthlessly with the Mohammedans as they had behaved with the Chinese. The massacre [798] of the Mohammedans was tremendous. The stronghold of Chin Chi Pu, the center of the revolt, was burned to the ground with the defenders of the city who fought with the courage of despair. Nothing was heard of them any more. Ling Wu was taken in the same way and few defenders escaped.

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The Mohammedan population of Ninghsia was very dense. It inhabited many important villages. One village after another was destroyed but a few Mohammedans managed to escape toward Shensi or Huangchung. The army commanders of Ninghsia and the local militia, which had suffered so many reverses and lost many soldiers at the hands of the Mohammedans, were in high spirits and revenged themselves against their former oppressors. In the meantime the revolt went on in the other prefectures of Kansu-Shensi.

In 1871 Ma Hua-lung, who had surrendered the previous year, was killed with his father, his son, brothers, and the commander of his troops. The revolt was quelled in the prefecture of Ninghsia.

In the third moon the city of Lien Ch'eng, the stronghold of the Lu t'u-ssu, was attacked by the rebels. The attack failed and the rebels were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*).

In 1872, in the third moon, Tso Tsung-t'ang, leading his army, went to Hsining. The Mohammedans of Hsining, in combination with Salars and Shensi rebels, were at that time plundering the country, killing people, and converting their villages into fortresses, in expectation of attacks from the Chinese army. Tso Tsung-t'ang followed the tactics he had successfully used in Ninghsia, and before long he had the situation in hand. In combination with the Hsining troops he cleared the country, destroying the villages of Mohammedans one after another, and killing all the Mohammedans he could lay hand on. The figure of those killed ran into the ten thousands. More than 100 villages had been destroyed. The Mohammedan population of the Hsining country was very dense. This fact gives an insight into the power of the Mohammedans in the country, and the difficulty for small armies assigned to defend definite countries, and, without coordination among them to cope with the situation.

In the seventh moon the general moved to Lanchow to recommence the same tactics, annihilating the strongholds, killing and demoralizing the rebels.

In the eleventh moon several thousand Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining again. Among them were Salars of the two Salar t'u-ssu from Hsun Hua, the four upper and lower kungs, Mohammedans from Shensi province and from the suburbs of Hsining. The situation in Hsining seems to have been critical, for troops were sent by General Tso Tsung-t'ang from Lanchow. The troops could not cross the Tat'ung River, the boats having been burned by the rebels. The T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng, living on the borders of the river, immediately called his people to prepare a floating bridge, and the troops arrived on time in Hsining. The army administered a crushing defeat to the rebels, destroyed the Mohammedan suburb of Hsining, and the massacre followed. Then the local Mohammedans sued for peace and surrender in concert with the Salars. The officials suspected their faithfulness. They retired

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and started plundering again. They were pursued, and 3,000 among them were killed. The remaining Salars fled to Pa Yien Jung and the surrender of the Hsining Mohammedans was accepted. The Hsining revolt was quelled. The Mohammedans had suffered tremendous losses.

In 1873, in the first moon, the troops recovered the subprefecture of Tat'ung and cleared the country in the same ruthless way. For many months the army had tried to recover the city of Suchow, situated on the trade road to Turkistan. In the Suchow area the Mohammedan population was very dense. Troops were sent from Lanchow and Hsining, but did not succeed in the action. Finally, in October, Tso Tsung-t'ang himself arrived with more troops from Lanchow. In November the city was recovered, the country cleared, and the Mohammedan population of the whole country massacred.

The same year the cities of Hsun Hua and Hó Chou were recovered and the country cleared. The number of the slaughtered Mohammedans in the cities and the surrounding villages was tremendous. Huangchung and East Kansu were pacified. Both Chinese and Mohammedans had borne the brunt of the revolt, and suffered equally.

During this last revolt, 1860–1873, a relatively few number of notes are encountered concerning the role played by the t'u-ssu and their troops. The fact is quite understandable. Mohammedan groups were running all over the whole country, and the forces of the regular army were insufficient to cope with the situation on a large scale. The t'u-ssu had to protect their own strongholds and fortified villages which sheltered their subjects, in the way the officials had to protect the cities with their population. Huangchung had suffered terribly and the destroyed villages and cities told the tale. The Monguors had had a bad time, but comparatively few had lost their lives, having hid and resisted the rebels in the strongholds of their t'u-ssu. The loss of cattle, houses, etc., was tremendous.

For the second time dissension concerning the old and new religion had caused a terrible revolt. The fanatic Salars, as well as the Chinese Mohammedans, had been responsible for all the harm suffered in Kansu and Shensi. However, every time their revolt had been on the brink of disaster, both groups forgot their dissension about religion and together fought fanatically their common enemy, the army of the hated Chinese.

## REVOLT OF MOHAMMEDANS IN 1895–1896

During the revolt of the Mohammedans in 1860–1873, many cities and villages of Huangchung had been devastated and many, many thousands of Chinese and Mohammedans killed. During the following twenty-two years the country had more or less recovered from the disaster, when a new revolt of the Mohammedans

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broke out, as terrible as the preceding, and forecasting anew many days and nights of black despair. The news of a revolt of the Mohammedans was enough to cause a feeling of awe all over the country.

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This time the revolt started in Hsun Hua in East Kansu where, in 1762, Ma Ming-hsin, coming back from a pilgrimage, had founded his new religion. It was caused by dissension among the Mohammedans of Hsun Hua concerning the old and new religions. Han Mu-li was the leader of the old religion group, and Han Ssu the leader of the new religion group. Fifty thousand Salars prepared to join the revolt. In Hsun Hua, at that time, there was a garrison of only five to six thousand soldiers.

The viceroy of the provinces of Shen Kan Yang, Ch'ang-chun, was informed. Immediately he ordered the commanders of Kanchow, Hsining, and Turkistan to move their troops around the Hsun Hua region, in order to encircle the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 63*b*, 64*a*). The troops arrived too late, the city of Hsun Hua was already besieged by Han Mu-li and the Salars, the Mohammedans of Ho Chou, Hai Ch'eng, and Pa Yen Jung, Nienpei had already joined the revolt (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 49, 58*a*–*b*).

But there is another version of the cause of the revolt. The troubles arose in Hsun Hua from the dissensions related to the old and new religions, in the first moon of 1895. Then the viceroy sent Commander Lei Cheng-kuan immediately to garrison with his troops in the city of Ho Chou, in order to prevent the spread of the revolt. However, the whole region was upset on account of the misconduct of the troops of Ho Chou. Two Mohammedan leaders of Hsun Hua went to see the commander in Ho Chou, asking to put his troops in order. He killed the two leaders and then the revolt started and spread like a prairie fire. Hsun Hua was besieged by Salars, Ho Chou and Hai Ch'eng joined the revolt.

Later, the investigations of the conduct of Commander Lei Cheng-kuan disclosed that the reason for the misconduct of the soldiers of his troops had been the overdue payment of his soldiers (*Annals* of Kansu 5: 42*a*–*b*, 43*a*).

Then followed many reverses and small successes of the Chinese troops, the flight of the besiegers of Hsun Hua in the fifth moon, and the spread of the revolt in Huangchung. In the sixth moon the Mohammedans of Hsining revolted, and with them all the Mohammedans of the whole country; Tatung and Po-ta were besieged and captured. The Chinese troops were unable to cope with the revolt.

General Teng Tsen of Hsining asked for permission to order the enrollment of 200 soldiers of each of the tribes in the country (*Annals* of Kansu 47: 64).[100]

This note seems to point to the enrollment of the Monguor troops and their t'u-ssu, besides that of the

[100] d'Ollone, *op. cit.* 21: 299.

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Tibetan tribes. However, nowhere is recorded in this section the name of a t'u-ssu. Records about the t'u-ssu do not reach as far as 1895.

Here we must close the chapter of the history of the Monguors during the Ch'ing dynasty, but a few words more will help one to understand the terrible devastation wrought in Huangchung during this revolt.

In the tenth moon, when the situation was completely out of hand, General Tung Fu-hsiang arrived with a strong army from Turkistan. He first went to Ho Chou and Hsun Hua, the centers of the revolt, ruthlessly murdering the Mohammedans in the way they had behaved with the Chinese. Then he pacified the Salars of Pa Yen Jung and the entire region south of Nienpei, along the northern borders of the Yellow River, all in the same bloody way. He went to Tat'ung and Pe-ta, and reached all the strongholds and fortified villages of the Mohammedans north, south, and east of Hsining, one after another, devastating the country and slaughtering the people.

In the second moon of 1896 the revolt was quelled. The remaining Mohammedans, having no way to live, fled toward Kokonor. The Tibetans and Mongols in Kokonor had been prevented from keeping in readiness to exterminate the rebels, pursued by the army. Small groups of them fled to Turkistan across the southern mountain range and submitted to the officials of Turkistan; most of them died from starvation and cold in the middle of the winter.

In 1920, traveling in the country, one encountered ruined villages and cities which told the story of both terrible Mohammedan revolts and this made it easy to understand the hatred which today still smolders in the hearts of Chinese and Mohammedans against each other in Kansu province.

This first part of the book sheds light on the hopeless situation on the frontier regions during the Ming time.

On the one hand, the uncouth Mongols were unable to organize a united front for the recovery of their lost empire; they were divided and subdivided in groups, fighting each other under the leadership of chieftains, seething with hatred and killing one another. They tumbled back into barbarism, invading the frontier regions, plundering, ravaging the country, abducting and killing the people. In Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor they ruined and scattered the Tibetan tribes, reducing them to the level of slaves.

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